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SUBJECT: PRAVDA ARTICLE ON SOVIET POLICY IN AFRICA

SUMMARY: WRITING IN JULY 15 PRAVDA TWO SOVIET SCHOLARS
PORTRAY "ALL" THE NEW STATES ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT
AS CHOOSING SOCIALISM WHILE IMPERIALISM STUBBORNLY
REFUSES TO RETREAT "WITHOUT A BATTLE." THE AUTHORS
ARGUE THAT ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET UNION OPPOSES THE EXPORT
OF REVOLUTION, SOVIET AND CUBAN AID TO AFRICAN STATES
IS JUSTIFIED BY THE UN CHARTER AND A UNGA RESOLUTION,
AND DOES NOT POSE A THREAT TO AFRICA'S STABILITY OR
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DETENTE. THE SOVIETS FURTHER STATE THAT ALTHOUGH
THE WESTERN PRESS HINTS AT CHANGES IN U.S. POLICY
TOWARDS AFRICA, POSSIBLY LEADING TO A RECOGNITION OF
ANGOLA AND "PROGRESSIVE" REGIMES, ONLY A "NEW
VARIANT OF THE OLD COURSE" IS IN EVIDENCE. END
SUMMARY.

1. DIRECTOR OF AFRICA INSTITUTE, ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, ANATOLIY GROMYKO (SON OF FOREIGN MINISTER) AND JURIST STARUSHENKO PUBLISHED LENGTHY ARTICLE IN JULY 15 PRAVDA LAYING OUT THEORETICAL AND JURIDICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF SOVIET POLICY IN AFRICA, AND EXONERATING IT OF POSING ANY THREAT TO THE CONTINENT'S STABILITY OR DETENTE. MAIN POINTS OF ARTICLE, WHICH IS ENTITLED "IMPERIALISM AGAINST AFRICA," (ASSUME FBIS WILL HAVE FULL TEXT) ARE:

-- ALTHOUGH BOURGEOIS PRESS IS HINTING THAT WEST IS CHANGING ITS POLICY TOWARD AFRICA AND THAT A MODERATE COURSE LEADING TO THE RECOGNITION OF ANGOLA AND OTHER "PROGRESSIVE" REGIMES HAS WON OUT IN WASHINGTON, CONDITIONS (NOT DESCRIBED) BEING PRESSED ON AFRICA INDICATE THAT ONLY A "NEW VARIANT OF THE OLD COURSE" IS IN EVIDENCE.

-- DESPITE PROFOUND CHANGES IN AFRICA IN RECENT YEARS, INCLUDING WEAKENING OF FOREIGN MONOPOLIES' HOLD, "IMPERIALISM DOES NOT WANT TO RETREAT WITHOUT A BATTLE." WESTERN AID SERVES POLITICAL OBJECTIVES, AND BY DEEPENING THE AFRICANS' FINANCIAL DEPENDENCY, REMAINS AN INSTRUMENT OF PRESSURE. CASE IN POINT IS ZAIRE, WHERE ITS LEADERS ARE NOW "LOSING CONTROL OVER THE COUNTRY" AND HAVE EVEN TURNED OVER ITS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SECURITY TO FOREIGNERS. MASS POPULAR ACTIONS AGAINST THE REGIME ERUPTED IN EARLY 1977 IN SHABA AND REOCCURRED WITH NEW FORCE IN MAY 1978.

-- AGAINST BACKGROUND OF INTENSIFYING PROBLEMS ON CONTINENT SUCH AS IN ZAIRE, "ALL THE NEW AFRICAN STATES ARE REJECTING THE CAPITALIST PROSPECT." A SOCIALIST ORIENTATION HAS BECOME THE REALITY, AND "TEMPORARY FAILURES" HERE OR THERE CANNOT DETRACT FROM THE FORCE OF THIS FORM OF SOCIAL PROGRESS.

-- THE USSR LOOKS WITH DEEP SYMPATHY ON THE CHANGES TAKING PLACE AND, AS THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT STATEMENT OF JUNE 23 INDICATES, RESOLUTELY SUPPORTS THE AFRICANS' STRUGGLE. SOVIET POLICY HAS NOTHING IN COMMON, HOWEVER, WITH THE "ARTIFICIAL KINDLING OF REVOLUTIONS AND UPRISINGS" WHICH HAS BEEN ASCRIBED TO THE USSR. MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY PROCEEDS FROM

VIEW THAT REVOLUTION CAN ONLY BE SUCCESSFUL AND SERVE SOCIAL LIBERATION IF "OBJECTIVE INTERNAL CONDITIONS HAVE RIPENED." SOCIALIST STATES ARE "PRINCIPLED

OPPONENTS OF THE EXPORT OF REVOLUTIONS," BUT ALSO
OPPOSE FOREIGN INTERFERENCE AND THE EXPORT OF
COUNTERREVOLUTION.

-- THERE IS NO BASIS FOR SAYING USSR AND CUBAN "AID"

TO "SOME AFRICAN COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY ANGOLA AND
ETHIOPIA," CREATES A THREAT TO PEACE AND STABILITY
IN AFRICA, OR UNDERMINES THE PROCESS OF DETENTE.
SUCH AID IS CONSISTENT WITH THE UN STATUTE AND THE
25TH UNGA RESOLUTION ON STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY, AND IS DESIGNED TO COMBAT AGGRESSION AND
COLONIALISM. PROVIDING HELP IS NOT ONLY A STATE'S
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RIGHT BUT ITS DUTY.

-- REGARDING DETENTE, AS NOTED IN THE JUNE 23
SOVIET STATEMENT, IT DOES NOT PRESUPPOSE "ARTIFICIALLY
HAMPERING THE OBJECTIVE PROCESSES OF HISTORICAL
DEVELOPMENT, WHICH IS SIMPLY IMPOSSIBLE." DETENTE
IS NOT A SEAL OF PROTECTION FOR ANTI-POPULAR REGIMES.
IT CAN ONLY BE STRENGTHENED WHEN THERE IS NO FOREIGN
INTERFERENCE IN NATIONS' INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

-- NATO MERCENARIES ARE BEING EMPLOYED NOT TO DEFEND
AGAINST EXTERNAL DANGER TO AFRICANS BUT IN THE
INTEREST OF REACTION. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MER-
CENARY FORCES MASQUERADING AS "INTRA-
AFRICAN FORCES" IS AN OPEN THREAT TO AFRICAN NATIONS
SEEKING TO CONDUCT THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS INDE-
PENDENTLY.

-- IN THE FACE OF THE SERIOUS IMPERIALIST THREAT
TO THE CONTINENT, MANY AFRICAN PAPERS ARE CALLING ON
OAU STATES TO SOLIDIFY THEIR RANKS AND MAKE THIS
ORGANIZATION THE "ONLY FORUM" FOR RESOLVING DISPUTES.

2. COMMENT: ARTICLE CONTAINS MANY ELEMENTS OF
JUNE 23 SOVIET GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON AFRICA, AND
IS A FURTHER EFFORT TO PUT DOWN THE ARGUMENT THAT
THE SOVIETS (AND CUBANS) ARE JEOPARDIZING DETENTE
BY THEIR ACTIONS IN AFRICA. BY DRAGGING OUT VARIOUS

MARXIST-LENINIST AND JURIDICAL RATIONALE TO JUSTIFY
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES' INVOLVEMENT, THE AUTHORS
REINFORCE AN IMPRESSION OF SUBSTANTIAL SOVIET
DEFENSIVENESS FOR THEIR POLICY. BY IGNORING
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CONSIDERATIONS OF NATIONAL INTEREST, THE AUTHORS
WILL PROBABLY ALSO LEAVE THE MORE SOPHISTICATED
SOVIET READER STILL WONDERING -- WHY AFRICA. WE
NOTE THAT THE AUTHORS DISMISS IN PASSING THE LATEST
U.S. APPROACH TO ANGOLA AS ONLY A VARIANT OF THE
OLD POLICY. THEY ALSO GIVE SOME SUPPORT (BY
CITING THE AFRICAN PRESS) TO THE IDEA THAT THE OAU
SHOULD BE THE "ONLY FORUM" FOR DEALING WITH AFRICAN
PROBLEMS. MATLOCK

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